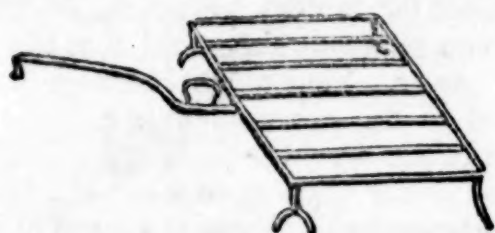


# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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"We may grumble very consistently, we, who have been opposed to the late war, on account of the monstrous taxes we shall still have to pay; but, even we, have no right to blame the French nation for the debt, the taxes and the paper-money. They have not been the *cause* of these, at any rate. They, probably, wished us not to hire so many people to fight against them. It is, therefore, a perfect abomination to endeavour to excite hatred against them on this account. I hope, after all, that we shall be at *real* peace with France. I hope that the terms of the peace will be such as to prevent the French from seeking revenge in a new war; but, really, I am afraid, that the constantly irritating and insulting language of our newspapers, must have a tendency to obstruct all endeavours to attain so desirable an object."—REGISTER, 21 MAY, 1814.

## TO THE JOURNALISTS OF PARIS.

Kensington, 18th August, 1828.

GENTLEMEN,

PRENEZ-GARDE, ou vous allez être avalé tout-vif: take care, or you are going to be swallowed up alive. In 1803, after the peace of Amiens had been broken, our ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY wrote a prayer for us to put up in our churches as by law established, and we all repeated it for several months. In this prayer, we called upon God to save and deliver us from our enemy (BUONAPARTÉ) who had threatened and who designed "to swallow us up QUICK"; that is to say, *alive*; not only raw and uncooked, but actually to take us down kicking and squalling. Whether by virtue of the prayer, I cannot say; but, by some virtue or other, we escaped this horrible end. You, Gentlemen, are the best judges of your own means of protection; but, as a short prayer could, certainly, do you no harm, it may, perhaps,

be as well for you to begin to think about it: at any rate, it is high time for you to think of *something* in the way of protection; for, as I am about to show you, you will soon be, and you, indeed, already are, in a state of imminent peril; and I deem it no more than an act of common humanity, to give you warning of your danger.

The case is this. You have, of late, been rather sarcastic on us and on our "greatest Captain of the age," who, you know, "*conquered* France," only about thirteen years ago: you saw how quietly our Government witnessed your march into Spain, and you have seen it as quiet as a lamb for five years while a French garrison has been at Cadiz; you witnessed its *bold* conduct in the affair of NAVARINO, while Russia and France were at its back, and you see how *peaceable* it is now, when Russia is over-running Turkey and when France is sending a great force to the scene of action and of great events. You cannot fail to have observed its *very gentle* conduct as to Portugal: and, in short, you have, at last, after having been deceived for many, many years, found out that this Government is labouring under the burden of more than (all included) a THOUSAND MILLIONS of pounds sterling of DEBT, while it has to maintain a fleet and an army which cost more annually than the cost of the fleet and the army that we had to maintain in *any* war previous to the last. In a word, you have found out that we are in a state of beggary; that the expense of the last war has ruined us; that the sum which we have to pay in interest upon the Debt and other dead incumbrances, amount to more every year, than the full rent of all the land, all the houses, and of every species of real property in the country; that, therefore, the whole kingdom is mortgaged for more than it is worth, to the owners of the funds, or national debt; that the labouring classes have been reduced to the lowest state of misery by the excessive taxation which the Govern-

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ment is compelled to lay on in order to be able to pay the interest of the debt and to support its army, which is about six times as numerous as ever it was in any former period of peace; and that, therefore, for us to enter on war is impossible, without leaving part of the interest of the debt unpaid, which, as every one must see, would bring everlasting disgrace upon the Government, and in all likelihood, produce a most dangerous convulsion. These things you appear to have discovered at last, after having suffered yourselves to be deceived for so many years by the false glare of this modern Babylon, commonly called London. You have been led to make the discovery by inquiring into the cause of the *peaceableness* of our Government; which peaceableness was so much out of character, so contrary to all the well-known conduct of this Government, that it naturally excited your curiosity: having once made the discovery, you are no longer at a loss to account for the extreme reluctance of our Government to adopt any measure, and even to utter one word tending to place it in a state of war.

It was very natural that Frenchmen should be rather jocose upon making this discovery. They must have short memories, indeed, if to have discovered the weakness of England had failed to give them pleasure. In short, your journals have recently abounded in remarks upon our *impotence*; upon our endeavours to varnish over our strange want of sensibility to insult; but, though this was very natural in you, it has given great offence to our wise and modest newspaper people, and to *some* others: they are provoked beyond measure that you have made the discovery above-mentioned, and that you are communicating it to the whole world. They know well that we know the misery of our situation; but they do not care *for us*. Our knowledge of these matters is nothing new to them; but, they do not like the thing to be known to the world: they want the world to believe that we are all well off, and that the government is rich and strong: they know well how much depends upon opinion: in such a case,

to be thought strong is to be strong: the government has power, real power sufficient for domestic purposes: and it has sufficient for foreign purposes, as long as it can persuade the world that it has such power. Your recent language with regard to this government is calculated to make the world believe that *it has not the power of going to war*: if all the world believe this, there is an end of its power; for what nation will fear a nation *which cannot go to war*?

Therefore it is that you have excited great anger on this side of the water; and this anger has found a vent through the columns of our newspapers, particularly those of London. Several indications of this anger have made their appearance from time to time, during the last three or four months. You have received several broad hints to desist from what is called your *insolent conduct*; and these having produced little or no effect, there has come forth, at last, a solemn *denunciation* against you, against your ministers, and even against your king himself, whose punishment is threatened unless you cease your sarcasms with regard to the feebleness of England; unless you cease to let us perceive the satisfaction that you feel at having discovered that those who pretend to have conquered France only thirteen years ago, are now unable to go to war, though they see the territory of their friends over-run, and though they must expect that they will be ejected from a very profitable branch of their commerce, to say nothing about the curtailment of dominions that may follow.

This denunciation came forth in a journal, called the *NEW TIMES*, and published on the eleventh of this month of August. This journal is what is commonly called a "*ministerial newspaper*." I do not pretend to say that the expenses of the journal are paid by the government. I do not know that any persons belonging to the government have any thing to do with the paper. I am not sure that any of the under officers of the government communicate with the editor; but this I *know*, that the columns of the paper are invariably devoted to *praise the Ministers and their conduct*;



and to attack and slander all those who write or speak *against* either the character or conduct of those Ministers. I know, further, that, though this same journal has not a wide circulation, I find in this very number of the eleventh of August two advertisements from the government-offices, when there are but 27 advertisements in the whole; and in addition, I know that these government advertisements are very profitable things. Having stated these facts, I will leave you to judge what weight they ought to have with you in forming your opinion as to the *real source* of that denunciation which I have mentioned above, and which I here insert.

1. "The privileged journalists of France, who but a few days ago ran some hazard of being sent to the galleys for speaking what they thought, or even publishing what was notorious as to matter of fact, or almost universal as to public opinion, now that they have been *ungagged*, are most persevering in their abuse of England. We can account for this in two ways. The persons who conduct the French Papers are either LOYALISTS under the PRESENT MINISTRY, or JACOBINS, who still cast a lingering look upon the reign of robbery, tyranny, and *glory*, that is past.

2. The former have short memories. They never had any judgment—*never any courage*—and rarely have they evinced any spirit of patriotism that that was not strongly alloyed, or rather debased, by the influence of selfishness. The Revolution annihilated them, as the waves of the sea during a storm wash away the sandy barriers that appear high and strong till they are assailed. They shrunk from the strife of the enraged mob. They offered no resistance to the inroads of FRENCH RADICALISM. They fled from the scenes which *they had mainly contributed to render horrible and triumphant*, and they sought, under the banner of a Foreign Power, that *servile protection* which they should have contended for at the points of their swords. In the land, the institutions of which they now attack,

and which they do not decline to slander, they sought that safety which they could not find at home. The arms of England resisted the aggressions of the Republic, and the still more audacious efforts of NAPOLEON. Sir ARTHUR WELLESLEY drove the legions of France out of Spain; and Lord WELLINGTON silenced the gasconade of the Parisians, by marching as a victor from the bottom of the Pyrenees to the heart of Paris. The Bourbons were restored to the throne of their ancestors *at our expense*. The Bourbon loyalists were restored to their estates, *which they did not deserve*, solely by our prowess, and at our cost. That two or three years of prosperity have effaced from their memories these facts, is true; and that, forgetting the power that restored them, and the hospitality they received here, they have evinced sentiments any thing but generous, any thing but *grateful*, any thing but just, is equally true. These men—the refugees of *fallen France*—have forgotten all this; and they now, in the enjoyment of those incomes to which we restored them, seem desirous to repay their protectors with that affection which the *serpent* gives to the bosom which warms it. They deem themselves secure in their possessions; and in the spirit of *ingratitude*, which only exhibits their weakness and their wickedness at the same moment, they *decry our institutions, question our power*, and insultingly deride *the feebleness of our foreign policy*.

3. The other party are the modern Jacobins of France, or rather that "*liberal*" party, who, if they owe the peace and the prosperity which they enjoy to *us*, are nevertheless disposed to pay for their security, and *their estates*, by invoking a fresh opportunity to despoil and correct them. With them military glory is every thing. They know they have *been conquered*—they know that all they enjoy *they owe to us*—they know that that *clemency*, which preserved to Paris *many of its spoils*, and at present all its security and prosperity, they owe to *us*—therefore

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“ they hate us—they insult us—they vainly attempt to provoke us to those exertions which would again place in the balance *our* strength against theirs.

4. “ Now, in discussing this question, we put all these ungenerous and paltry feelings—all these mere mob-threats—all these ungrateful taunts—aside. France is right in pursuing her own policy. We will never quarrel with her so long as she, calling to her aid her own internal resources, endeavours to foster her manufactures, her marine, her trade, or her colonial interests, by every fair or honourable means. But when we hear her Journalists *proclaiming to the world our weakness*, reproaching us with inertness, and asserting that we are *peaceful*, because we are *poor, oppressed, divided, and resourceless*; we pardon their ingratitude, while we pity and *despise* their ignorance. True, we have the Duke of WELLINGTON for our Premier Minister of the Crown. But they ought to remember that he is in London, not in Paris—that he is here the conservator of public policy, not the guardian of the liberties of France—and that, however much he *may be desirous to march again to Paris*, to protect it from assault, or to tranquillise its intestine division, he has, at the same time, the honour and interest of England under his charge. There is as little inertness in him as there is in the nation which reposes confidence in his measures. *Whatever Mr. Canning may have done to make us the butt of Europe, the Duke of Wellington is neither shackled by his policy, nor bound by his measures.* Mere prating will not annoy him. The empty swaggering of the Journalists of Paris gives him as little uneasiness as did the threats of BUONAPARTÉ; and if the *Bourbon adherents* choose to throw down the gauntlet, and heap undeserved insults upon England, he is just as well prepared to resent them, and resent them as effectually and as successfully, as he did from 1813 to 1815.

5. “ We candidly admit, that the measures of Mr. Canning and his supporters did us much injury. They have made us a more distressed na-

tion than we were before. They have imposed upon us much suffering, much dissatisfaction, much confusion, and not a little despondency as regards the future. But when the French Journalists vapour about our inability to avenge insult or protect our interests, they only show their own prejudices, and their ignorance of the resources of the British empire. *In forty-eight hours we could, if necessary, demonstrate to them that we have resources of which they have no conception.* We could teach them, that all their trade, beyond their own shores, is at our mercy. We could teach them, that their fleets, their twelve thousand men in the Morea, their claims upon St. Domingo, their rights in the *Baharic Isles*, are mere paper pretensions, if circumstances should occur to induce us to put forth our strength. *Let them not, if they have any regard for their honour or their interests, provoke us to the trial.* If we are compelled to put forth our power, what we can do now is more than what we did do when we restored the Bourbons to the throne of France. ANY MORE signals of their hostility will AROUSE A POWER, which, if defied, will silence their boastings, and teach them that the security they boast of is more precarious than they at present dream of.

6. “ We can bear taunts from these people to a great extent of forbearance; but if the CABINET OF PARIS think fit to make the Press of that Capital the organ of its opinions, we have resources—ten times more than they possess—which will successfully call to our aid, not the discontented spirits of Europe, but those energetic spirits who can at all times administer a wholesome lecture to those who insult us, either from imaginary security, or from feelings of discomfited pride. It would be well, therefore, that these vapourings should be DISCONTINUED. We are desirous to be in amity with the French nation; but we court not their alliance if they persist in inculcating either sentiments of distrust or taunts, alike discreditable to themselves, as they are insulting to



"to us. *If the French Ministry patronise these effusions, we can only say that either the DYNASTY OF THE BOURBONS is in danger from anarchy within, or those hostilities from without, which must sooner or latter lead to a derangement of all treaties of amity. We have no wish to offend his Most Christian Majesty, but we beg leave, with all proper respect, to hint, THAT THE SON OF NAPOLEON IS A SON OF THE EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA.*"

I have numbered these paragraphs in order that I may refer to them with the greater facility, and I have pointed out, by the use of *Italic characters*, the passages, or particular words, that I think worthy of more than ordinary attention.

PARAGRAPH I. describes you, as divided into two classes: the *loyalists* under the present Ministry; and the *jacobins*; so that here are *the whole* of you; here are *all* the journalists of Paris, who are represented as having been just *ungagged*, and one class of the two are represented as jacobins wanting a return of the days of *tyranny* and *robbery*; that is to say, you are represented, one half as the tools of your present Ministers, and the other half as being, in your very nature, *slaves* and *robbers*! This is *civil*, and especially in those who complain of your "*abuse of England*," merely because you infer that she is *poor* and *feeble*, because she is so wonderfully quiet.

PARAGRAPH II. Here your sins of the pen are visited upon the whole of the *ancient Noblesse of France*, who are represented as never having had either *judgment* or *courage*, as being *selfish*, as having *basely fled* from the scenes of danger, and even as having been in great part, the *cause* of that danger; that is to say, that their bad conduct, their ill-treatment of the people of France, was the *main cause of the revolution*! They are next charged with seeking a *servile* protection in other countries while they ought to have remained at home and sought protection by *their swords* in fight against the *French Radicals*; and they are repre-

sented as resembling the *serpent* in *ingratitude* with regard to England, which is said to have protected them and to have restored them to their *estates*, which they did *not deserve*. In short, the whole body of the ancient Noblesse of France are represented as a parcel of *fools*, *cowards*, *selfish wretches*, *tyrants*, and as guilty of the *blackest ingratitude*: and, all this *for what*? Because the news-papers of Paris "*decry our institutions, question our power, and insultingly deride the feebleness of our foreign policy.*"

Now, let us examine this a little. If such were the character and conduct of the ancient Noblesse of France; if they were fools, cowards and tyrants, and if their ill-treatment of the people were the main cause of the revolution, why did the English government protect them, why support them at the expense of the people of England, and why did our government tax us and contract debts of which we have to pay the enormous interest; why did our government do this, in order to restore these Noblesse to *estates*, which this writer now says "*they did not deserve*?" If these charges against the French Noblesse be *true*, how are we to describe the folly or the wickedness of our own government? and if these charges be *false*, how are we to describe the baseness and insolence of this writer?

But, leaving the writer to answer these questions, let us inquire a little into the facts stated in this paragraph. First, then, it is false to say that we restored the Noblesse to their *estates*, for they never have been restored to them at all: next, how stands the matter as to protection? Did we protect them at the Peace of Amiens; and were we not upon the point of driving them back to France, or sending them to Canada, at the request of BUONAPARTÉ, just before the War broke out again in 1803? A certain number of these loyal Noblesse, who had received an intimation that they must quit the country, were situated, at that time, at SOUTHAMPTON. They expected every day to be seized to be sent out of the country. Mr. WINDHAM took the advice of a lawyer upon the subject,

who gave it as his opinion, that they might, if arrested, apply for a *writ of Habeas Corpus* to be brought before one of the Judges; and that thus, at any rate, such a stir might be made as would prevent these gentlemen from being sent to be placed under the guillotine of BUONAPARTÉ. I went on a message from Mr. WINDHAM to these gentlemen, whom I found at Romsey in Hampshire, to which town they had retired from Southampton, in order, in some measure, to escape observation. It was with some difficulty that I found them out, and with more difficulty that I convinced them that I was not a spy, come for the purpose of preparing the way for their arrest. *My writings at the time*; my indefatigable efforts to save them, did, in my real opinion, save these men from being flung back on the shores of France or Holland; or, at least, being banished to Canada. But, I shall reserve what I have further to say relative to the treatment of the French Noblesse and other emigrants until I come to speak of that vast debt of *gratitude* which the family of BOURBON is said to owe to this country; and I shall for the present quit this paragraph, No. 2, with observing, first, that I have never seen you *decry our institutions*. Question *our power* you recently have, and you have also seemed to view with satisfaction the *feebleness* of our foreign policy; but never have you, that I have observed, *decried our institutions*; but, on the contrary, owing to your want of knowledge with respect to many of those institutions, you have lauded to the skies those things which we find pressing us to the earth.

The phrase "FRENCH RADICALISM," is worthy of particular attention. It has been used by this writer for the purpose of causing it to be believed, that those persons in England who are called *Radicals*, are men like MARAT, ROBESPIERRE, and all the sanguinary part of the French revolutionists; that a *Radical* is a man who wishes to destroy the nobility, to kill the king, to annihilate all property, and to introduce bloodshed and atheism. This has been the constant practice of writers

of this description; and such writers have the command of more than nine-tenths of the English press. *You have assisted this press* in this part of its work: one half of you have been in the habit of *reviling*, and the other half in the habit of *ridiculing* the radicals of England. This has proceeded entirely from the misrepresentations which you have received from this side of the water, and from that propensity, which I am sorry to say is but too common in you, as well as in the rest of the world, to look upon *want of success* as a proof of the *badness of the cause*. Let me, therefore, now that you yourselves are an object of abuse and denunciation with *this same press*, explain to you what a RADICAL is.

You hear the House of Commons called the REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE. In the language of the law, the members, when collected, are called the COMMONS' HOUSE OF PARLIAMENT: by the word *commons* is meant the *common people*, and, therefore, this House is the *people's house of parliament*, according to the law. You will allow that it is reasonable, therefore, that the people should have *something* to say in the *choosing* of these members; and that they should, in fact, really choose the members of their own House; for, how should they be the *representatives* of a people unless that people choose them? Now then, the facts are these; Mr. GREY, who is now LORD GREY, presented to the House of Commons, in the year 1793, a petition, signed by a great number of persons, in which petition it was stated, that *seventy-one* of the Peers and *ninety-one* great Gentlemen, actually put, at their sole will and pleasure, *three hundred and nine* members into the House of Commons, exclusive of those they put in for Scotland; and, as the whole House consisted of only *five hundred and fifty-eight* members, it thus appeared that this small number of persons, the greater part of whom were themselves members of the House of Lords and Commons, actually put into the House of Commons, at their own will and pleasure, *more than one-half* of the members.



These facts the petitioners stated that they were *ready to prove at the bar of the House*; they prayed that they might be permitted to prove them at the bar; their petition was received; but their *prayer was rejected*; and the like prayers have been rejected from that day to this.

Numerous efforts have been made to alter this state of things, to give to the people, or rather to restore to them, their right of voting at elections; so that, no man should be *taxed without his own consent*. This is the great principle of the English constitution: it was the setting of this principle at defiance which lost us America: the Parliament wanted to tax the Americans without suffering them to have members to represent them in the House of Commons: the Americans resisted: that resistance created a great and powerful enemy to England, which is feeling now the consequences of a vain effort to compel the Americans *to pay taxes without being represented*. Now, we want to be represented in Parliament: this is our great object; and it is an object, you will please to observe, that will *never be abandoned by the people of England*; for, besides it being *our right*, we are convinced that it is necessary to our practical good; we are convinced that wasteful wars, and that the cause of all our distresses and our miseries, have arisen from a want of the members of Parliament being chosen by the people at large. Acting upon this opinion, fifty years have passed in endeavours to obtain what is called a *Reform of the Parliament*. In order to pacify the people at some times, and to divide them at other times, different persons have proposed *trifling changes*, wholly inadequate to the great purpose. Others, amongst whom I am one, have contended for such a change as should go to the **ROOT** of the evil; such a change as should be **RADICAL**, complete and effectual. Hence the name of **RADICAL** has arisen; but, never have we contemplated, never have we talked of, never has it been proved, that any one of us had a design to effect any thing more than the causing of the people to be fully and truly represented in

their own House of Parliament: we have never proposed to take from the King any part of his prerogatives: we have never proposed to strip the Peers of any one of their privileges: we have aimed at nothing but obtaining our share in the legislature; and, if we had obtained it some years ago, you would not now have been abused by this writer for *questioning the power of England*, and for laughing at *the feebleness of her foreign policy*, for, her power would have been unquestionable, and her foreign policy would have been proclaimed to the world from the mouth of her cannon. If there had been a radical reform forty years ago, England would have had no war with France, and, in all human probability, **LOUIS XVI.** would never have suffered death by the hands of his subjects, and **BUONAPARTE** would never have been heard of. If there had been a Reform sixteen years ago, there would have been no war with the United States of America in 1813 and 1814. If there had been a reform, a radical reform, only twelve years ago, nay, only seven years ago, the French would not have been compelled to invade Spain in order to protect herself against the contagion of revolution; and, if there had been a radical reform only two years ago, you would never have had *to laugh* at the occurrences in Portugal, at the *curious victory of Navarino*; and never would you have seen the Russians cross the **Pruth**. If there had been a radical reform in due time, our enormous **DEBT** and enormous standing army in time of peace, would never have existed; and we should have been rich and happy at home and powerful and respected in every part of the world. These are my sincere opinions; and, therefore, while **YOU** are not to be blamed for reviling or ridiculing English radicals, who would make their country great and powerful, the press of this country covers itself with infamy in endeavours to make the world believe that the radicals are to be compared to **MARAT** and **ROBESPIERRE** and the rest of the bloody men of the French revolution.

**PARAGRAPH III.** This paragraph describes that part of you who call your-

selves "*liberals*," as being the "*modern jacobins*" of France. You also are charged with *ingratitude* to England, at the very same time that this writer claims merit on the part of this country, for having *put you down*, and restored the Bourbons and the Noblesse! He talks also of having secured *your estates to you*; that is to say, having secured estates to jacobins, when he had, but two minutes before, boasted of having restored the Noblesse to those same estates! So that, it seems, England gave estates *to everybody* in France; it would seem that the estates were *all her own*, and that she distributed them amongst you; or, at least, according to this writer, England might have prevented any of you, or all of you, from having estates; and might have given the estates to Englishmen, or to any body else! This paragraph speaks also of the "*conquest of France*." It says, that you know that you have been *conquered*, and that you know that you enjoy nothing but what you *owe to us*. Impudent and foolish as this is, who would have expected the man to be so foolish as to talk of our *clemency* with regard to the contents of the *museums* at Paris, which he denominates "*spoils*?" Of these spoils I shall have to speak by-and-by, when I come to consider the debt of gratitude due from the Bourbons to this country. You modern jacobins will certainly laugh at this effusion of spleen; but, I would have you beware; for, as you will by-and-by see, you are threatened with chastisement of no moderate magnitude.

PARAGRAPH IV. The writer here enters into what he calls a discussion of the question, and a very curious *discussion* it is. It is a string of vain boastings, of mere hectorings, of blusterings such as bullies put forth, and such as men of sense and of courage always despise. You are threatened with punishment because you proclaim to the world the weakness of England. The writer affects to despise and to pity your ignorance; but, at the same time, he shows that he is stung to the very soul, and threatens you, that the Duke of WELLINGTON *shall march to Paris*

*again!* He tells you, that if the BOURBON adherents choose to throw down the gauntlet, and to heap insults upon England, the DUKE of WELLINGTON is prepared to *resënt* the insults; though, in the very same breath, he tells you that the DUKE is *not at all annoyed by your prating*. These are pretty instances of consistency: they are calculated to excite little besides contempt; but they serve to show how deeply you have stung, and how precisely you have hit the soft place.

PARAGRAPH V. Here the writer admits that Mr. CANNING had, indeed, sunk the nation considerably; but, then, after accusing you of *vapouring*, he breaks out himself into an assertion that we could, if we would, in "*forty-eight hours*," make you feel the effects of our power! He then goes somewhat into detail, and tells you that all the trade of France beyond her own shores, is at our mercy. This man is profoundly ignorant, or he would know that the trade of France, even supposing her to be unable to defend it single-handed, would be carried on very quietly under the flag of the United States: he forgets the great fleet of that country: he forgets the blows that we received from that fleet: he forgets that that fleet can protect the merchant ships of that country; and he forgets that those merchant ships would safely carry on the commerce of France, or that we should have the United States amongst our enemies in a war. The rest of this paragraph is a piece of the most flagrant bragging; the most empty vapouring, and the most insolent threatening, that was ever upon paper. And, what is the ground of all this? France is to be despoiled of her commerce; her armament is to be destroyed in the Morea: the claims upon St. Domingo are to be annulled; and she is, in short, to be stripped of every thing, merely because the journals of Paris *laugh* at the placid attitude of England, while Russia is about to parcel out the Turkish Empire; and, probably, in conjunction with France, to eject us from the Mediterranean sea. The best answer to be given to this laughing of the journals of Paris, would be to send thirty English



ships of the line to attack the fleets and demolish the ports of Russia: *words* are of no avail in such a case; and, unless you be much more inclined to submission than your countrymen have shown themselves of late years, all this complaining and threatening and bullying, will only make your peals of laughter louder, and render them more frequent.

PARAGRAPH VI. In this paragraph we come to the great denunciation of all. Here it is assumed that the CABINET of Paris *gives the tone to the press* of that capital. You might, with just as much reason, assume that the Cabinet of London has actually dictated this denunciation against you and your government and king. This, however, is the assumption; and upon this assumption, that the French Ministry patronise the writings complained of, this writer declares that the DYNASTY OF THE BOURBONS is in danger of anarchy from within, or, of all *treaties of amity being broken off with it*; and particularly all treaties of amity with England! That this is the true meaning of writer, is evident from the concluding sentence, here he mentions the King of France, and begs leave to remind him, that *the son of Napoleon is a son of the Emperor of Austria!* That is to say, that unless the King of France make his Ministers *compel you to desist from laughing at the feebleness of England*, England will cause the son of NAPOLEON to reign in France, instead of the House of Bourbon; not seeming to consider, that whether you have the Bourbons or the son of Napoleon, all the devils in the infernal regions could not prevent you from laughing at the feebleness of England.

Now, far be it from me to wish you to suppose that any thing so execrably foolish as this could have been written or dictated by any minister in England; or that any minister could have wished it to be published; but, still, all this is found in a paper, devoted to the people in power. And the writer, although, doubtless, here he deceives himself, unquestionably believes, that this his writing will not be displeasing to those people in power. You will observe, too, that though the DUKE of WELLINGTON

is mentioned here with great praise, you ought not to conclude that he participates in the feelings expressed by this writer: and here I must take an opportunity of observing, that you are all of you under a great mistake, when you suppose that our strange inactivity, proceeds from want of ability in the ministry. I am led to make this observation, from seeing a remark made the other day by the *Courier Français*, in the following words: "So long as *statesmen* were at the head of the cabinet of St. James, they expressed themselves with *more energy*." "The English ministry could only descend to such an avowal of their weakness and incapacity by being *under the direction of a soldier*, whom chance favoured once and whom the spirit of party wished to puff off as the hero of the age." Now, Gentlemen, let us act fairly by this soldier: *let us not be too hard upon the cloth*. I agree with you, that all the stuff about "the hero of the age" has been contemptible in the extreme: I have always despised it, and have ridiculed it with every shaft in my scanty quiver: I, in common with every sensible man in England, have been disgusted with the talk about *conquering France*; and I have always thought and always said, that the DUKE of WELLINGTON was greatly over-praised and greatly over-paid. But, I love to do justice; and I, who have been a close observer of the character and conduct of no less than *nine prime-ministers*, following each other in succession, have no hesitation to declare, that I believe the DUKE to be *more fit for his office* than any one of the nine who have gone before him. You are not to conclude that he wants energy of mind; you are not to conclude that he does not know how to duly estimate the means of the country; you are not to conclude that he wants either courage or wisdom, because he stands quiet while, I allow, the character of the nation sinks. I believe him to be most anxious to assert the honour of the country, and to make an efficient display of its power; but he cannot make that display without *great quantities of money*; and the situation of the country is such that he cannot

expend those quantities of money on war without plunging it into eternal confusion. He does not, indeed, say this himself: he does not make this apology for his apparent inertness and apparent insensibility to the honour of the country; and you will allow that it is his duty silently to bear your ridicule and the ridicule of all the world, rather than make such a declaration: but, if I be sincerely convinced, as I am, that his choice lies between abstaining from war and plunging the country into confusion; if I think this to be almost self-evident, I must surely give him credit for seeing the matter in the same light; and, if I do this, I cannot be so unjust as to join in the censure of the *Courier Français*. The truth is, that the DUKE has the misfortune to come after those "statesmen" who seem to be the object of praise with the *Courier Français*. Those "statesmen" plunged the nation into enormous debts; they retained not less enormous establishments in time of peace; they made it impossible for the DUKE of WELLINGTON to assert the honour of the nation abroad, and to insure, at the same time, its tranquillity at home. He is surrounded with difficulties, of which even the latter part of them saw only the beginnings: these famous "statesmen," had the expensive and delicious banquet, and they have dropped off, leaving the DUKE to settle the restaurateur's extortionate bill. Therefore, I am of opinion that you are unjust with regard to the Duke, and I think it right to endeavour to correct you in this respect; it is money that is wanted, my friends, and the Duke can make money out of nothing just as well as you can, and no better. We have all the means of putting in execution even the threats of this vapouring writer; but, in the present state of things, it is impossible for the DUKE to make those means available. You abuse and ridicule the radicals of England, and you do well; as *Frenchmen*, you do extremely well in this; for ("Godam!") if the radicals were once to carry their point, it is but a very short time that you would have to laugh: we should soon turn your jesting into something serious. However,

as you can see no prospect of that event, continue to laugh you will, and those who are not radicals must continue contentedly to be stung by it; while the radicals themselves laugh as well as you.

There remains for me to notice the sweeping charge of *ingratitude*, which is here brought against the family of Bourbon, and against the whole body of the ancient *Noblesse* of France. I have been an eye-witness of all the transactions between this Government and that Family and Noblesse, from the time of their flight from France until the present day; and I have never, upon any occasion, having had the pen in hand all the while, neglected any proper opportunity to repel this charge of ingratitude, either on the part of the Bourbons or on the part of the Noblesse of France; on the contrary, I have always thought that their expressions of gratitude were carried too far, and I ascribed them to motives of policy rather than to the feelings of the heart.

It is said by this writer, that we restored the Bourbons *at our expense*, that it was done *solely* by our *prowess* and our money. None of this is true: NAPOLEON was, in fact, defeated by the snows of Russia in the first place, and by the combined powers in the next place; and, in that combination, which consisted of more than a million of men in arms, we had only fifty thousand; that is to say, not one twentieth part of the number. Besides, according to our own confession, half the people of France were for the restoration of the Bourbons; and we entered France, *not as the enemies* of France, *not against* the people of France, but as the *allies* of the king of France; and yet we have the audacity to call this a *conquest* of the kingdom of France, and that, too, *solely by our prowess*. As to cost, if we expended money on the war, we gained Malta, the Ionian Islands, the Island of Trinidad, the Cape of Good Hope, Demerara and Essequibo, the Mauritiass, Pondicherry, Ceylon, and many other pieces of valuable property. We forgot not the re-payment at the end of the war: we took the payment in kind; and if we advanced money in subsidies,



France and Spain and Holland and the Knights of Malta, paid us in territory, to say nothing of captured ships and *surrendered fleets*, and to say nothing of the *tribute* which France herself was compelled to pay. Therefore, as far as the French *nation* is concerned, there is nothing due to us on the score of gratitude, even if we omit all mention of the forced surrender of the frontier towns.

As to the Bourbons personally, what are our claims of gratitude on them? To make war upon the republic, from whatever motive, it was necessary to support those who had claims to the throne. When James the Second took shelter in France, he was received like a brother by the King of France: he appeared at Court, and he almost held a Court in Paris: he had a *palace* assigned him for his residence, and the King treated him in all respects as an *equal*. Now, the King of France, after the death of his brother, was residing in England. He had victuals and drink furnished him, indeed, and the like were furnished to his brother the present King of France, and the rest of his family; but, never were they suffered to appear at Court, or to *come into the presence of the King of England*. The King of France was not suffered to use the *title of King*, while here: he lived in a private house, and the present King of France I can remember having seen very moderately lodged in Welbeck-street in the parish of Marylebone. Here they remained in tranquil obscurity, until the peace of Amiens; and, what did England do for them then? I am ashamed to think of it myself; but, justice demands that this insolent writer should receive a reply to his brutal charges of ingratitude against the family of Bourbon. Buonaparté insisted that the Princes of the House of Bourbon should not be suffered to reside in England, or, rather, he urged it with great vehemence. The answer that M. OTTO received, from Lord HAWKESBURY (now Lord Liverpool) in a letter dated on the 28th of August, 1802, was this: "His Majesty has *no desire* that they should continue to reside in this country, if they are disposed, or can be induced

"to quit it." My remark upon this, in a letter to Lord Hawkesbury, dated June 4th, 1803 was this: "This appears to me to amount to a pretty clear intimation of your intention to urge them to do so, or, in other words, to oblige them to do it, if they should not take the hint in due time." The fact is, that the greater part of them quitted this country; and here it is but just to the memory of the late King of France to observe, that his family owe their crown, in all human probability, to his own fortitude and sense of honour, much more than to any other circumstance whatever; for, in the very lowest ebb of his fortunes, BUONAPARTÉ tendered him a "*brilliant state*" for him and his family if he would consent to *forego his claims upon the crown of France*. This he instantly refused in the most dignified manner, saying that "he knew how to suffer himself, and for that he was prepared; but that he never would abandon either his own rights or the rights of his people." At the time when he did this, there was not a man in Europe who thought he had any more chance of recovering his throne than he had of becoming sovereign of the universe. If he had accepted of this offer, the thing was done; and I always maintain that the King of France owed his restoration to himself and to the stupid vanity and upstart insolence of BUONAPARTÉ, ten thousand times more than to all other causes put together.

Nevertheless, when Buonaparté was put down, the King of France having then been in England for some time, was by no means backward in expressing his gratitude. Nothing could be more proper that the behaviour of the whole of his family, always excepting that, in my opinion, they carried their expressions of gratitude much too far. And, now, let us look at the question of gratitude respecting the *Noblesse* of France. At the same time, when OTTO made the demand relative to the Princes of the House of Bourbon, he made a demand, or a request amounting to something like a demand, that the French NOBLESSE should not be suffered to wear in England the *insigna of the or-*

ders to which they had belonged in France. To this request HAWKESBURY answered, "it might be *more proper* if they all *abstained from it*;" which opinion was, doubtless, communicated to them; so that here was this cup of humiliation tendered to their lips, and which they were compelled to swallow; and that, too, on the demand of that very BUONAPARTÉ whom we afterwards sent to St. Helena, where the poor fellow died of an "*hereditary cancer*." I have related before, what took place with regard to the *Vendean royalists*, who had escaped from Guernsey and Jersey, and landed at SOUTHAMPTON. I will here make an extract from my own Register, dated on the 6th of November, 1802.

"Twelve hundred of these brave men have, in one way or another, been cut off since the signature of the preliminary treaty of Amiens. These gallant men have fallen a sacrifice to their loyalty, and to their confidence in us. Not content with deserting the royalists, with leaving those who are in France to perish by the knife, and those who are in England to perish with hunger, the *ministerial prints* have lately begun to *revile* them, to accuse them of *perfidy*, and to endeavour to expose them to *public hatred and resentment*. Such baseness, such cruelty and ingratitude, *must be punished*, must recoil upon those that are guilty of it. Desperate as is the situation of the Vendean royalists, surrounded as they are with dangers, steeped as they are in poverty, I, for my part, would ten thousand times sooner partake in their fortune and their fate, than in those of the men by whom they have been deserted."

These were words put in print twenty-six years ago: they were written at the time when the transactions were before our eyes. I well remember the whole of those transactions, and I despise the Englishman who talks of *gratitude* due to us from the Noblesse of France. In every instance during the war they were abandoned; always hardly treated; but, in many cases, absolutely abandoned to the enemy by every power in whose service they were. To enumerate the instances of this would require more room than I have to spare. I therefore come, in conclusion, to the transactions at Paris in 1814 and 1815. These transactions have never been, and never can be, effaced from the minds of Frenchmen; but it is my business to show here, the baseness and insolence of the news-

papers of England, and particularly those of London. In the year 1814, when BUONAPARTÉ had been dethroned, these newspapers, who are now complaining of your *mere sarcasms*, were incessantly employed in inculcating the necessity of *crippling France* to such a degree, that she should *never be able to raise her head again*; continually employed in exciting animosity against the whole of the French nation, and in suggesting the necessity of compelling the family of BOURBON to submit to such terms as must have degraded them for ever in the eyes of the world, and particularly in those of the people of France; incessantly engaged, in short, in insulting, calumniating, and in endeavours to injure the Family of BOURBON, the NOBLESSE of France, and the whole of the French nation, the latter of whom they constantly represented as consisting of bands of robbers and murderers. And, these are the very journalists who are now complaining of the sarcasms and the laughings that escape from your lips!

In that same year 1814, I, who was indignant at this conduct in these journalists, and who knew that the day would come, when dreadful retaliation would take place, combatted, as well as I could, this band of shameless and unprincipled writers, exposed the villany of their sentiments and their motives, and I put the exposure upon record. In the 25th Volume of my REGISTER, from page 455 to page 633, both inclusive, are *seven Letters* addressed by me to the King of France, just after his restoration. In those Letters I endeavoured to show, that I, at any rate, did not participate in the baseness then so much in vogue. The subjects of those Letters were seven charges, which I preferred against the English Journalists, which charges were in the following words. I charged them,

1. "With endeavouring to produce a civil war in France, by the reviving and perpetuating of those political animosities, which the King has expressed his anxious wish to see buried in oblivion.
2. "With endeavouring to blacken the character of the French Marshals and



the French army; to induce the King to slight and discourage them; to prevail on the allied Sovereigns to break the convention, made for the release of prisoners of war, and that, too, for the purpose of preventing the French prisoners from returning home.

3. "With suggesting to the Allies the necessity of keeping their armies in France (in violation of the said convention,) beyond the first day of June, and with proposing that England should pay the said troops, while so kept in France.
4. "With proposing to the Allies, to compel the King of France to reduce his army in such manner as to render his kingdom perfectly defenceless against any foreign power, and at the same time suggesting, that the treaty of alliance made between Great Britain and the Allies, against France, when under NAPOLEON, should be continued in full force now, and for twenty years to come.
5. "With suggesting to the Allies the idea, and, indeed, actually proposing to them the measure, of stripping the Museums and Galleries of Paris of the Statues, Pictures, and other valuable curiosities, brought by the French Armies from countries which they had conquered.
6. "With endeavouring to prevent, in the pending negotiations, the restorations of the old French Colonies to France.
7. "With inculcating the doctrine, that France, though NAPOLEON is overthrown, is STILL THE SAME; that she is radically and systematically our enemy, and that suspicions and jealousies of France ought FOR EVER to be awake in the breast of a Briton."

Every one of these charges I established in the most satisfactory manner. I cannot here repeat the passages themselves, which I took from these newspapers at the time: they would occupy much more room than I have to spare. I will state, however, that there was not the smallest exaggeration on my part, and whoever will turn to the volume, which I have just named, will find that the charges were short of the truth. On the subject of the *Museums*, these malignant and time-serving wretches, first expressed a wish that *PARIS might be burnt to ashes*; but, this having failed them, they were incessant in their arguments, addressed to the Allies, for stripping the *Museums*; and one of their reasons was that such stripping would tend to prevent English people from going to reside at Paris! They con-

tinually represented the family of BOURBON as being as *ambitious* and as *mischievous* as BUONAPARTE; and they took every opportunity of reviving all the old grudges of England against France. I cannot help quoting here one passage from the *COURIER NEWSPAPER*, of the 12th May, 1814. The writer is endeavouring to show, that France will be just as ambitious and wicked, as under BUONAPARTE; and upon that ground, he urges the necessity of crippling France for a century, or for ever. His words are these: "To raise the monarchy to unlimited power was, for ages, the unvarying aim of her COURT. But France knows her power now better than she ever knew it. Her vast resources, her military endowments, her political influence have been displayed by the revolutionary governments in succession, on a scale large beyond the contemplation of her old politicians; and will not this be a strong inducement to the national vanity, the military ardour of that people, again to try their strength with their neighbours as soon as they have recovered from their disasters? They who depend much upon the change which has now taken place in their government, will do well to recollect, that the disgraceful interference of France in the quarrel between us and our American colonies, took place under a Bourbon."

In this way, these Journalists proceeded until the peace of 1814 had been concluded. During a twelvemonth from the date of that Peace, they kept up a lamentation that the *frontier towns of France* had not been curtailed; that she had not been compelled to pay a tribute; that the allies had not retained possession of *PARIS*; and, above all things, that the *MUSEUMS* had not been sacked. Luckily for these haters of France, BUONAPARTE returned in 1815; and that return was the strangest thing that ever took place in the world, especially as we had a Commissioner upon the island constantly to watch him! However, back he came; and then we saw, in the making up of another treaty, that the frontier towns, the tribute, the military occupation of Paris, and above all things

*the Museums*, were not forgotten. These newspaper writers, then, absolutely insisted that the monuments of the arts, should not be suffered to remain in the "*twice-conquered*" city of Paris!—Frenchmen have not forgotten this yet; but, one little thing they may have forgotten, and that is, that "*OLD BLEUCHER*" was the first to begin the work upon the Museums; and that, in not many days afterwards, he had conferred on him the English *Order of the Bath*!

Now, after all this, when this is so well known to the whole world, is it not surprising impudence for English journalists to talk of the *ingratitude* of the people of France, liberals, royalists and all; of the *ingratitude* of the *NOBLESSE* of France, and even of the *ingratitude* of the *BOURBONS*, and to threaten to overthrow these latter merely because the journalists of *PARIS* exult in the present apparent inability of England to thwart France in the prosecution of those measures which her government may think conducive to her interest and her honour: is not this surprisingly impudent? But, the *folly*, the childishness, far surpass the impudence; and it is impossible that these complaints against the journalists of *PARIS* should not stimulate them to further exertions of the same sort: when we wish to sting we are always greatly encouraged to proceed by perceiving that the sting is *felt*: you will now perceive that your stings are felt, and you must be something super-human not to be tempted to repeat your stinging.

I cannot omit to mention here, that the same charge of *ingratitude* was, by these same writers, preferred against the *KING* of *SPAIN*, because he, after the peace, issued a decree which gave the preference to the *manufactures of Spain* over the *manufactures of England*! The *KING* of *SPAIN* prohibited the importation of *English cottons*, and stated as a reason, that the regulation was necessary for the protection of the interests of his own subjects. Upon which the *TIMES* newspaper, and also the *COURIER* newspaper, issued the following counter-decree:—"This *PRINCE*, who owes such a debt of gratitude to England, is the first to set the example of an absolute prohibition of cotton goods. For the honour of human nature, we hope that this is not true. We are unwilling to believe that such *ingratitude* can exist amongst men; but, if it be

"true, we hope our Government will peremptorily demand payment of every farthing expended by us in Spain, and will take effectual means to enforce the demand."

This cotton war did not take place, our ministers thinking, probably, that *Trinidad* and the four *Galleons*, seized before a declaration of war, were pretty tolerable good payment for the sums expended in Spain. This was the way, however, in which these impudent writers proceeded in the days of their prosperity: they insulted the whole world: they set at defiance every principle of honour, and every idea of decency: they outraged every feeling of every person, of whatever rank or degree, in France: the conquest of France was everlastingly upon the point of their pens: they openly exulted in what they deemed her fallen state; and they recommended and urged (and not always in vain) every thing tending to degrade the Royal Family of France, and to make them detested by the people. These writers felt even then, that our enormous *DEBTS* would cripple us for the future: they felt even then, that we could not go to war if the occasion arose; and their base hope was, that they had crippled France for ever, and rendered it impossible that we should be called upon again to go to war. Such was their expectation: we have witnessed their disappointment: they now feel that disappointment most sorely: they perceive also, that you see their weakness: your exultation adds greatly to their chagrin, and these stupid and malignant effusions are the result.

If you will take the trouble to revert to the motto which I have selected for this paper, you will perceive, that even before the peace of 1814 was made, I had my apprehensions, that the terms of that peace would be such, as to cause France to seek revenge in a new war. What, then, must have been my apprehension when the treaty of 1815 was made? After the making of that treaty, and especially after the affair of the *FRONTIER TOWNS*, the *TRIBUTE* and the *MUSEUMS*, it would have been to turn a deaf ear to the voice of nature herself, not to believe that the whole of the French nation would rejoice at an opportunity of humbling England: therefore we should have been prepared for any occasion calculated to bring their feeling into motion: we should have begun instantly to make such arrangements in our internal affairs, as would have enabled us to meet another war, and if we have not done this the fault is not yours; and, it is childishness of the most despicable description to blame you for exulting and laughing at this altered state of things. Again I say, that if you had had *Radicals* to deal with, you would not now have laughed at England; and, until you have radicals to deal with, may you, Gentlemen, continue to laugh.

WM. COBBETT.



## MR. PEEL.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the rumours about this man of "*presentiment*" resigning, I do not believe a word of the matter. No minister ever resigns; and if this man were to resign *now* he would never be a minister again. This is my opinion. As to the SMALL NOTE BILL, it is impossible to repeal it without calling the Parliament together; and if called together for that purpose, the disgrace of the ministry would ring throughout the world. It cannot be repealed with any safety without another restriction of the Bank, and the parliament would, in fact, be called together, to declare the nation *Insolvent*. If we complain of the Journalists of Paris for laughing now, what would their laughter be then? I hold it to be impossible for the DUKE of WELLINGTON to retain his power, if he abandon this bill, unless indeed (which is not impossible), no soul on earth can be found to accept of his office. Besides, to give way upon this point, would be to ensure the destruction of every thing like credit. On the other hand, I am told, you yourself say, that we cannot go to war with the present system; that we cannot go to war and continue to pay the interest of this DEBT in Gold, and yet you urge the Ministers to continue to pay in Gold, and to pay the interest of that DEBT in full, and your expressions amount to an opinion, that it is disgraceful for them to remain at Peace. This is not true: I do say that they ought to have gone to War before now, unless the RUSSIANS desisted: I do say, that they ought to pay in Gold: I do say that they ought to sweep away the paper money: but I have never said that they ought to pay the interest of the Debt in full. I have said that they ought to pay *EQUITABLY*: I have preached, and I have prayed (and almost upon my bare knees) for an "*EQUITABLE ADJUSTMENT*" according to the NORFOLK PETITION: this petition can be acted upon at any time: if acted upon, we may pay in Gold and go to War too: if not acted upon, *the fault is not mine*.

## INDIAN CORN.

I HAVE several times mentioned in the Register, that I have a sort of Indian Corn, which I believed would ripen in this country in *any summer*. I have often descanted upon the various and great virtues of this grain; and, to introduce it into England, so that every farmer might have from one to ten or more acres of it every year, has always appeared to me to be a thing for which I should deserve the blessings of the whole country: *deserve* I say; for, I am very sure, that if I were to introduce some certain method of preventing the possibility of short crops, or a wet harvests, I should still have the *curses* of ninety-nine hundredths of the Church Parsons, of every one of the base and savage Borough-

mongers, and of every reptile that lives, or that wishes to live, upon taxes squeezed out of the labouring and industrious part of the people of every class, from the independent professional man down to the miserable day-labourer. I resolved, therefore, this year to give the thing a *fair trial*; not by planting a little patch of this Corn in a garden, but by planting a whole field of it, which I did at the proper season. The field bore a large crop of wheat last year, and turneps were sowed after a once ploughing, in this stubble field. The turneps were by no means a bad crop, and they stood until very late in the spring. They were then taken off, and the field was digged in the month of April. A part of the field, which had been very frequently overflowed by the tide in the winter, continued to be so wet and cold, that it was not fit for the corn, until the season became too late. I, nevertheless, planted it; but that part of the field I expected to yield nothing but fodder and soft ears, to be given to the hogs at once when gathered. The rest of the field, about *eight statute acres*, is the handsomest Indian Corn-field that I ever saw in my life. I should observe, that, when I took this farm, there were not six cart-loads of dung upon the premises, and that I have never bought a handful. I manured this field (which, for *wheat*, would have required, for the eight acres, a *hundred large cart-loads* of dung) with the stuff shovelled up about the yard, with rotten potatoes, which my predecessor had the goodness to leave in the barn, and with about four cart-loads of pretty good manure, of which I took leave to rob my garden. I should think that these eight acres had bestowed upon them about twenty large cart-loads of tolerably good manure, taking one part with the other, and no more. The Corn has had two complete and good hand hoeings, and the ground is now as clean as a parterre ought to be. The field, as I said before, is the handsomest Indian Corn-field that I ever saw, and I have seen millions of acres. Every body knows what *sort of a summer we have had*; that we have had full six weeks of wet and shady weather, beginning about the eighth of July, and ending on the eighteenth of August, just the very part of the summer when we might have hoped for that heat which is so favourable for plants of this description. I was afraid to *look* at the Corn; I skulked away for a whole month; but, ST. SWITHIN appearing, on Monday last, to have brought the dispensation of his favours to a termination, I mustered up courage to come and take a survey of his ravages upon my Indian Corn. I have now examined it well; and I can see *no reason for believing that it will not ripen*; and if it do ripen, I have not the smallest doubt that it will produce a hundred Winchester bushels to the acre. If it ripen this summer, there never will be a summer in which it will not ripen, if sowed in proper time. In about a month from this time, we shall cut off the *tassels* and the

*long leaves*, which give a prodigious quantity of fodder to the acre, and which fodder, weight for weight, sells much dearer than the best hay in America. The ears then remain on the stalks until the latter end of October, by which time the grain is hard, and then the ears are plucked off, and put away for preservation. The great stalks are then cut off or pulled up; and if given to hogs, they will gnaw them to pieces, and live upon them for a good while: at the least, they will serve to bed up yards and styes. In America, where the weather is hot enough to dry these stalks through, they serve as fodder for cows throughout the winter, and cows will do much better upon them than upon hay of the very best quality. The truth is, every part of the plant abounds with saccharine matter. My field is of the *dwarf* kind of corn, such as I have never seen in America; it does not grow to much more than half the height; but is more productive, acre for acre. The rows stand nearer together, and the plants nearer together in the row. I imported some *early* corn from America last year; the account of it was, that it was *very early*, and as such I sold it amongst my seeds last winter. I planted a piece of this corn in a field adjoining my other corn: I planted it one day before the other; it is now nearly twice the height of the other; but I am certain that it will *not produce one single ear that will ripen*: it is an entirely different plant, and requires a different climate. Any gentleman that has a mind to see my field of corn, will be showed it by somebody or other that he will find at the farm house. There is another advantage to be derived from the cultivation of Indian Corn; and that is, the *husks*, or fine thin leaves which envelop the grain, are made use of, in the West Indies, in Spain, in Italy, and in all the corn growing countries, to make *mattresses*, and for all those uses that horse-hair or wool is applied to in *stuffing things*: these leaves are very thin, very tough, and full of elasticity. They never break and become dusty; they never cling together; they are very durable; and, in short, they make the far greater part of the beds of all descriptions of persons in the countries where they are to be come at. I shall, from time to time, give an account of the progress of this crop, and in the meanwhile I repeat, that any of my readers, that choose to do it, may come and see it growing; and if they come at all, they will do best to come *before the tassels and leaves be taken off*, which will be in about a month from this day.

WM. COBBETT.

Barn-Elm Farm,  
20th August, 1828.

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